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**NAVAL WAR COLLEGE  
Newport, RI**

**Killing Them Softly:  
At War With Children**

**By**

**Yvette D. Barnes  
Civilian**

**A paper submitted to the faculty of the Naval War College in partial satisfaction of the requirements of the Department of Joint Military Operations.**

**The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Naval War College or the Department of the Navy.**

**Signature: \_\_\_\_\_**

**17 May 2005**

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**Dr. Douglas Hime**

## **Abstract**

Children have been present in some capacity on almost every battlefield in every era. Today more than 300,000 child soldiers, boys and girls, are serving as armed hostile combatants in insurgencies, civil wars and other conflicts on every continent except Australia and Antarctica. U.S. and other military forces have already found themselves in battle with underage combatants--with varying degrees of "success." This likelihood will only continue to increase as professional soldiers engage in peacekeeping operations and military operations other than war. The phenomena of child soldiers must factor into all facets of military combat doctrine, training and weapons technology. A multi-phased pre-deployment to post-engagement approach that incorporates clear legal guidelines, tailored training, advanced planning, critical intelligence and the employment of non-lethal weapons can effectively prepare troops to take some of the guesswork out of potentially deadly confrontations with underage combatants. Further, such an approach will allow troops to respond effectively and appropriately to the threat posed by child soldiers and reduce/eliminate the potential for demoralizing aftereffects on the adult professional soldier.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

In January 2002, the first U.S. soldier killed in Afghanistan reportedly was killed by a 14-year-old Afghan sniper. This then is the new fresh face of war--enemy forces comprised of AK-47-toting child combatants, boys and girls as young as five years old. It has been conservatively estimated that 300,000 child soldiers, approximately 10 percent of all combatants, are serving in 75 percent of the world's armed conflicts on every continent except Australia and Antarctica.<sup>1</sup> In fact, 80 percent of these child combatants are children under fifteen. In the last decade alone, over two million children have been killed in combat.<sup>2</sup> While it would be impossible within the scope of this paper to capture the totality of the issue of child soldiers, it will briefly define the problem from the operational military perspective, highlight specific instances that have impacted legitimate forces, and propose a recommended course of action to mitigate the dilemma that professional soldiers may face in these circumstances. The Joint Force Commander must field forces that are equipped with every offensive and defensive, tangible and intangible "weapon" at his disposal. Despite whatever the causal factors that facilitate the creation of child armies and despite international condemnation, the phenomena of child soldiers is one factor U.S. military forces are likely to continue to confront with increasing regularity as they engage in peace keeping operations and military operations other than war. The U.S. military is certainly capable of winning wars. With regard to the issue of child soldiers, it is how U.S. military might is brought to bear against child soldiers that will allow the U.S. to win a "soft victory."

## **CHILD COMBATANTS--A RECENT HISTORY**

The proliferation of lightweight weapons--requiring not physical prowess or technical expertise to manipulate--has made it possible for very young children to bear and use arms.

Olara Otunnu, U.N. Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict

The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) defines a child as “every human being below the age of eighteen years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier.”<sup>3</sup> However, since the vast majority are under fifteen years old, and despite the number of signatories to the CRC, the use of children as active combatants has in fact continued to grow. This practice is most prevalent in Third World regional conflicts where poverty, strife and chaos are endemic to society and where non-state and transnational actors proliferate. Children are used on the front lines as cannon fodder/human shields; they are used to lay mines and clear minefields; they serve as runners and spies; the girls are often used as sex slaves. Some child combatants are volunteers. Some are sold into service by their parents. Many are recruited. Many are conscripted. Many have been kidnapped, often from neighboring countries. Many are orphans with nowhere else to go. A good many are kept high on drugs to keep them under control and more manageable and to “enhance” their combat effectiveness. The child warriors who survive grow into hardened veteran combatants capable of going toe-to-toe with even the most professional soldiers. They are fearless, ferocious, ruthless, unpredictable and lethal.

**Africa.** In Africa, children are likely to be used by both rebel and government forces.<sup>4</sup> According to one study, 60 percent of African child soldiers were fourteen and under.<sup>5</sup> They are present throughout the African continent, including Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, and the Ivory Coast.

- Uganda: The anti-government rebellion in Uganda is now in its nineteenth year. During that timeframe the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) has become "renown" for its use of child soldiers: almost 90 percent of the fighting force of the LRA consists of child soldiers, and the LRA holds the record for the world's youngest armed combatant at age five.<sup>6</sup>
- Sudan: In over 20 years of fighting, as many as 100,000 children have fought on both sides of the Sudanese civil war.<sup>7</sup> As of 2004, of the 100,000 child soldiers in combat on the African continent, fully 30 percent, 30,000, operated in Sudan.<sup>8</sup>
- Congo: At one time, more than 40,000 children were fighting in the eastern Congo alone.<sup>9</sup>
- Angola: When Angola's civil war ended in 2002, an estimated 11,000 child soldiers had served in both the government and rebel armies.<sup>10</sup>
- Sierra Leone: Of the soldiers in the Revolutionary Armed Forces (RUF), 80 percent were children between seven and fourteen.<sup>11</sup>

**Middle East.** Child soldiers are currently involved in conflicts in Iran, Algeria, Lebanon, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Egypt and Yemen.

- Afghanistan. Al Qaeda and Taliban youths received extensive combat training.<sup>12</sup> Thirty percent of all Afghan children reportedly have participated in military operations.<sup>13</sup>
- Iraq. Beginning in the late 1970s, government-sponsored Iraqi youth organizations, such as the Youth Vanguard and Saddam Lion Cubs, were formed to train and groom child soldiers. Indigenous opposition forces also used child soldiers.<sup>14</sup> During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, U.S. forces have engaged with Iraqi child soldiers in Nasariya, Karbala, and Kirkuk.<sup>15</sup> Boys as young as twelve years old are among the more than 100 child combatants that have been captured in fighting during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. A number are

incarcerated in a special segregated area at the U.S. military prison at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.<sup>16</sup>

**Asia.** The average age of a child soldier is thirteen. They are in combat in insurgencies in Cambodia, East Timor, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Nepal, Indonesia, Pakistan, Indonesia, Laos and southern Taiwan.<sup>17</sup>

- India. Seventeen different rebel groups use child soldiers.
- Sri Lanka. Forty to sixty percent of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) are between ten and 16.<sup>18</sup>
- Myanmar. Over 77,000 children are engaged on both sides of the conflict in Myanmar. The great majority (70,000) are in the Burmese Army.<sup>19</sup>

**Latin America.** Child soldiers have been used in Mexico, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Peru.<sup>20</sup>

- Colombia. Fourteen thousand child soldiers are engaged in fighting on both sides of the conflict in Colombia, by the rebels and by government-backed paramilitaries.<sup>21</sup> Prior to 1999, even the Colombian national armed forces included children.<sup>22</sup>

**Europe.** Most European child combatants are in Turkey's Kurdish Workers Party. They have also served in Ireland, Bosnia, Chechnya, Daghestan, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Nagorno-Karabakh.<sup>23</sup>

Children have become such an integral component of some forces that special child units have been formed especially for them, including Turkey's Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), Liberia's Small Boys Unit, and Sri Lanka's LTTE Baby Brigade<sup>24</sup> to name just a few.



Young female soldiers are also on the rise, serving in various capacities in at least 32 countries:<sup>25</sup> Twenty-five percent of Ethiopian forces fighting the insurgency in Eritrea are female.<sup>26</sup> Fifty percent of the LTTE are girls,<sup>27</sup> as are 30 percent of Sierra Leone's Revolutionary Armed Forces (RUF).<sup>28</sup> In a chilling glimpse of the future, children born to females in the Colombia's Armed Revolutionary Forces (FARC)<sup>29</sup> and Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army<sup>30</sup> become "property" of the insurgency and are being raised as the next generation of recruits.

For those with no moral conscience, the benefits of using child soldiers far outweigh any ethical or humanitarian considerations. Child soldiers allow a weaker force to continue fighting and replenish the force when there is a shortage of adult soldiers. In many cases, however, child soldiers are preferred over adults. As some military leaders have noted, "they are less likely to question orders from adults and are more likely to be fearless, as they do not appreciate the dangers they face."<sup>31</sup> Most importantly, use of child soldiers can in fact win wars. In the early 1990s, Charles Taylor used thousands of child soldiers to successfully catapult himself into the presidency of Liberia,<sup>32</sup> a position from which he has only recently stepped down. When faced with the possibility of defeat in 1998, the government of Ethiopia's child soldiers allowed it to hold off the Eritrean insurgency long enough to regroup and regain the upper hand.<sup>33</sup>

### **IMPACT ON FIGHTING FORCES**

You remind yourself...that they're only children, but a temper tantrum when they've got a grenade launcher is not quite the same as a temper tantrum without a grenade launcher.

Major Phil Ashby, British Royal Marines, Sierra Leone, 2000

Children have deployed with combat forces for hundreds of years. With few

exceptions, such as the Virginia Military Institute cadets at New Market in the American Civil War, minors had historically served for the most part in an ancillary capacity out of direct combat in relative safety. However, that paradigm began to change in the twentieth century.

**World War II, 1945.** Germany's Hitler Youth had been formed in the 1930s as a political youth group and feeder program for the German military and security service (SS).<sup>34</sup> However, in the waning days of World War II and the imminent collapse of the Nazi regime, these boys were pressed into active combat. U.S. forces that had to engage with these children were reportedly absolutely demoralized.<sup>35</sup>

**Vietnam, circa 1971.** During the Vietnam War, the communist Viet Cong insurgency used children as weapons of war. It was common knowledge among the American troops that women and children were often booby-trapped, luring the unsuspecting in for the kill. A Vietnam veteran once told of an incident in which he was involved. As this soldier and his unit entered a village, two smiling little girls came running towards them, arms outstretched in greeting--a potential threat. The soldiers were wracked with fear and indecision. But they also knew the risk and there were few options. In self defense, they fired on the little girls who immediately exploded. The "innocent" little girls had in fact been booby- trapped. Drafted into the Army, the soldier himself was perhaps only 20 years old when this incident happened. This story was told only one time. He spoke very softly and would not make direct eye contact. Though the incident had happened in the past, and even though the American troops had responded appropriately, the soldier was still filled with anguish, guilt and remorse.<sup>36</sup>

**Sierra Leone, 2000.** In 2000, a unit of the British Royal Irish Regiment found itself surrounded and captured by a militia group comprised of children known as the “West Side Boys.”<sup>37</sup> Though clearly hostiles armed with AK-47s, the squad’s commander had been unwilling to fire on “children armed with AKs.” Sixteen days later, elite British SAS special forces and paratroopers launched rescue Operation BARRAS. Though the operation was successful, it was not without cost. Fighting was fierce. The SAS suffered one killed and 70 wounded; 25-150 of the “children” were killed in the fierce firefight.<sup>38</sup>

**Iraq, 2003.** From March to July 2003, LTC Chris Holden, U.S. Army, served as Task Force Battalion Commander, 3<sup>d</sup> Battalion, 502<sup>d</sup> Infantry Regiment, 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division. In the chaos that marked the early days of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, pro-Saddam Hussein militants had moved into hospitals, mosques and schools.<sup>39</sup> LTC Holden’s mission on the morning of 5 April was to advance into the city of Karbala and destroy the Baath Party Headquarters. Intelligence from U.S. Special Operations Forces scouts reported back on the opposition forces the U.S. forces would be up against: 300 to 700 Fedayeen Saddam insurgents; women and children used as human shields; and children sent out to retrieve weapons from fallen fighters. Within minutes of entering the city, LTC Holden and his men found themselves engaged in bloody house-by-house, block-by-block fighting. Suddenly, they were confronted with exactly the situation about which they had been briefed. Two 8-to 10-year-old Iraqi boys were sent out to retrieve a grenade launcher. Despite repeated warnings from the U.S. soldiers to stay away from the weapon and despite a number of U.S. soldiers armed with an array of weaponry pointed directly at them, the boys defiantly and deliberately continued to edge towards the weapons. As the boys picked up the

weapons, the soldiers were left with no choice. They fired in self-defense, killing both boys.<sup>40</sup>

In the aftermath of the successful mission (US: 1 killed, 18 wounded; Hostiles: almost 400 killed) LTC Holden reflected, “The men were exhilarated. I was so proud.”<sup>41</sup>

### **FUTURE WAR: IMPLICATIONS FOR DOCTRINE, TRAINING, AND TECHNOLOGY**

Don’t be complacent: this is a new enemy and a new threat.

COL Joseph Anderson, Iraq, 2003

Once more the exception rather than the rule, the use of child soldiers is one of the more tragic faces of fourth generation warfare. The virtually inexhaustible supply of “disposable” children combined with access to inexpensive light weapons has made it easy for non-state actors to put lethal firepower into the hands of the smallest combatant and field armies of child soldiers. Further, it makes it easier to start and sustain regional strife and insurgencies and helps prolong conflicts that might otherwise be resolved. As it prosecutes its global duties and responsibilities, the U.S. military will likely continue to confront armed children as it engages in peacekeeping operations, counter-insurgencies, and other military operations other than war.

The use of child soldiers will present legitimate forces with unique challenges including:

- Despite the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), international law and public statements denying the use of child soldiers, many armed forces, including some signatories of the CRC, do in fact continue to use child soldiers.
- The need to distinguish between true civilian children and armed child soldiers remains.

- Rules of Engagement and the Law of Armed Conflict are principles and tenets of lawful warfare of which these children have neither heard nor by which they abide. They fake surrenders. They have no concept of rules governing the treatment of Prisoners of War and often either kill them outright or bring the prisoners back to camp to be executed as a “learning tool.”<sup>42</sup>

- Despite their diminutive size, child soldiers are a deadly threat. In fact, the younger the child soldier the more vicious and brutal he or she is.<sup>43</sup>

- Child soldiers are well armed, know how to use their weapons, and will do so without the slightest hesitancy. They are a formidable adversary.

- Having grown up on the battlefield, those children who survive may have more combat experience than some adult professional soldiers.

- Child soldiers and those who employ them may not conform to a preconceived definition of “rational” actors.

- Child soldiers are often deliberately used in ways that increase their exposure to danger – on suicide missions, as human shields and cannon fodder, and so forth.

- Use of child soldiers forces the enemy to expend time, energy and resources to counter them.

**Prior** to deploying into a battlespace fraught with the employment of unconventional tactics, military doctrine, training, and technology must psychologically prepare U.S. military forces to successfully meet and overcome these challenges. Though the military may be schooled in the more traditional implications of the Law of Armed Conflict and Rules of Engagement (ROE), these internationally recognized standards of military behavior must now clearly spell out the protocol when dealing with underage combatants. Indeed, perhaps

the first hurdle that must be overcome is an acknowledgement that while underage, this enemy is not an “innocent” child. Classroom education and field training which incorporates aspects of warfare against children should be crafted to instill a level of confident and automatic response.

### **Doctrine and Training**

LTC Holden credits training and military doctrine for preparing his troops to face hostile underage combatants. His men went through a two-stage training program prior to deploying to Iraq: first, 3 months of training at their home base, followed by deployment to the Joint Readiness Training Center (JRTC) at Fort Polk, Louisiana. At the JRTC, the troops received vignette training that incorporates real life scenarios the military may face in a variety of situations including armed combat or humanitarian assistance operations. Soldiers are certified for these duties upon completion of this training.

At 0530 on the morning of the Karbala operation, the diverse units, which included tanks, Bradley armored vehicles, Apache attack helicopters and Kiowa Warrior helicopters, rehearsed the plans for the assault. Clear rules of engagement were reviewed and reinforced: women and children may be involved; soldiers were to fire warning shots over their heads. But self-defense, personal and unit, was (as always) to be paramount at all times.<sup>44</sup>

LTC Holden’s Regular Army unit was fortunate enough to have an extended predeployment notification and preparation period and the appropriate advanced training before deploying to Iraq. Army National Guard and Reserve units, however, are often called up at a moment’s notice, without the advantage of appropriate training that would better equip them, militarily and psychologically, for warfare with children.

## **Non-Lethal Weapons**

When the 3<sup>d</sup> Battalion, 502<sup>d</sup> Infantry Regiment, 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division entered Karbala in April 2003, the unit had only conventional weapons when it faced underage would-be hostiles. While the lack of non-lethal weapons was not an impediment to the ultimate success of the mission, their use most probably would have subdued the threatening children without killing them. Indeed, the effective employment of non-lethal weapons would undoubtedly reduce both the civilian and enemy casualty rate in any type of hostile confrontation. However, no military goes into a hostile environment armed solely with non-lethal weapons. A combination/assortment of lethal conventional and non-lethal weapons is the most effective way to fight and win effectively in this type of fourth generation warfare.

As the Department of Defense's Executive Agent for Non-Lethal Weapons, the Marine Corps has established the Joint Non-Lethal Weapons Directorate (JNLWD). The JNLWD is at the forefront of advocacy for the research, development and fielding of non-lethal weapons. The Corps' think tank, the Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities (CETO), a division of the Marine Corps' Warfighting Laboratory, has addressed the twin issues of child soldiers and non-lethal weapons. As the Corps' think tank, CETO has acknowledged that the U.S. military will continue to face the threat of armed children and suggests the use of non-lethal weapons as one means of mitigating the dilemma these underage combatants pose to the military.<sup>45</sup> Virtually every category across the spectrum of non-lethal weapons can be tailored to allow soldiers to counter, immobilize, neutralize and defend against enemy forces that use children. And, they can do so from a safe distance.

Non-lethal weapons that stun, immobilize or otherwise incapacitate the intended target may perhaps be best suited for confrontations with underage combatants. Weapons in

this category include plastic/rubber bullets, stink bombs, sticky foam and lasers. But by its very nature, almost any “weapon” may come with some inherent degree of risk and lethality. This is particularly true when the target is “pint-sized.” “Non-lethal” does not necessarily always equate to “child friendly.” This a consideration that must be factored in as the Department of Defense embarks on an aggressive six-year \$271 million program in technological advancements for the development of non-lethal weapons.<sup>46</sup>

In the area of non-lethal weapons, National Guard units may have an advantage over the regular army. Today, we find ourselves in an era that has been described as the “Fourth Generation” of war. This way of warfare has been described as one in which “wars” are fought for many different reasons, by many different non-state actors, using military and non-military tactics and methods to wage war. Street gangs, insurgencies, criminal and terrorist organizations are all considered fourth generation warriors.<sup>47</sup> National Guard units are prepared for confrontations with civilian populations, including children, on those occasions when they are activated during domestic situations such as urban riots. And they are more likely to be familiar with tactical employment of non-lethal weapons such as tear gas. Further, Guard and Reserve members may have law enforcement and other related careers and background that might also better prepare them for warfare with children.

The efficacy of non-lethal weapons has gained increasing credence and the research to production to deployment timeline is shortening. While very few were deployed to Iraq in the early months of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, a version of the Active Denial System, a vehicle-mounted microwave beam that causes a burning sensation on the skin, is to be fielded in Iraq later this year.<sup>48</sup> As the arsenal of non-lethal weapons for use in Phase Four operations grows, civilian casualties and collateral damage will go down, and the Iraqi



people as well as the international community with perceive that the United States is conducting military operations humanely and professionally.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

We shot and killed children. But I take full responsibility for that. That's the kind of fight it was. Everything revolves around accomplishing the mission and protecting the soldiers.

LTC Chris Holden, Karbala, 2003

The danger posed by child soldiers has been recognized as a serious threat to U.S. military forces. A combination of vignette training and access to non-lethal weapons is perhaps the most useful strategy when dealing with underage combatants. But as yet, it has not been institutionalized across all segments of the Armed Forces as a part of standard/basic military training. To most effectively prepare troops for warfare with underage combatants, the following five-phase approach is recommended:

### **I. Predeployment/Training Phase**

Exercises. Conduct vignette field training and wargaming exercises that emphasize tactics techniques and procedures in combat scenarios that include underage combatants, both boys and girls.

Education/Instruction. Clearly define the rules of engagement and law of armed conflict to ensure all troops are well schooled in its use and applicability, and its provisions that ensure their protection and security.

Employment. Train in the use of non-lethal weapons as a component of general weapons training.

## **II. Deployment Phase**

Weaponry. Ensure troops deploy with both lethal conventional and non-lethal weapons for which they have trained. This will give them the option to choose the weapon which best suits the situation, and then to use that weapon instinctively, with confidence and without hesitancy.

## **III. Pre-Engagement Phase**

Intelligence. Ensure timely and accurate intelligence, so crucial to preparation of the battlefield environment, is available. Intelligence should specifically identify the type(s) of enemy to include the presence of underage combatants.

Rehearsal. Rehearse and practice in anticipation of a potential encounter with an enemy force that may include young male and/or female hostiles.

Rules of Engagement. Reiterate the rules of engagement to ensure they are clear and completely understood.

## **IV. Engagement Phase**

Mission Accomplished. Incorporate all aspects of training and preparation to successfully complete the mission with minimal friendly casualties and minimal collateral damage. Armed with a selection of conventional and non-lethal weapons, troops will respond quickly, decisively, and instinctively to an enemy or threat of any size, age or gender.

## **V. Post-Engagement Phase**

Counseling. Ensure troops are offered the opportunity to meet with clergy and/or mental health professionals to ameliorate any post-trauma that might result from combat with children.

## CONCLUSION

The very value of children is that they are extra targets for the enemy to deal with and expend ammunition upon.

P.W. Singer

Ideally, informational and psychological operations campaigns combined with international political and humanitarian pressure directed at both the child soldier and his/her employer would curtail if not completely eliminate the number of armed underage combatants present on the battlefield. The cross-border spill-over of regional insurgencies, accessibility to large numbers of poverty-stricken, stolen, sold, disenfranchised, and other “disadvantaged” children, whether volunteers or conscripts, and the willingness to use them in armed conflict, has made going to war and sustaining war easier for otherwise weak insurgent and/or military forces and will continue to fuel the child soldier phenomena. Cases in point: Sierra Leone’s Revolutionary Armed Forces (RUF) were completely overrun in 1995 and 1997. However, in each case, the RUF was able to reconstitute itself and carry on the war by exploiting kidnapped children. Similarly, in 2002 when Uganda’s Liberation Army was on verge of defeat, it abducted 8,400 children and was able to extend the war for another year.<sup>49</sup>

Children have been present in some capacity on almost every battlefield in every era, most often as volunteers, and most often kept in the rear of combat action. But since the dawn of the Twentieth Century, Western societies have become more protective of children, for example the enactment of child labor laws. Humanitarian organizations have long recognized the societal and cultural problems child soldiers pose and have been vocal advocates for the abolishment of the practice. Their efforts to demobilize these underage combatants and (re)introduce them into normal society is a gargantuan, long-term

undertaking. But, while children have been demobilized in post-war Afghanistan, Angola and Sierra Leone, more than 25,000 children are now fighting in Cote d'Ivoire and Sudan alone.<sup>50</sup> Suicide bombers and other terrorists are getting younger, and, increasingly, they are female.

The U.S. military has only recently come to the realization that child soldiers are an inescapable fact of armed conflict, both now and in the future. This new reality must be factored into all facets of professional military combat preparation. The most serious error a soldier can make is to “mistake” a child combatant for the little boy or girl next door back home. What that soldier is confronting is not an innocent victim. It is not a game. It is deadly serious. Any hesitancy will put that soldier's life at risk. Clear legal guidelines, tailored training, advanced planning/rehearsal, critical intelligence and the availability of appropriate non-lethal weapons will help take the guesswork out of potentially deadly confrontations with underage combatants and reduce the potential for demoralizing after effects.

There is no question that the U.S. military, arguably the best trained and equipped, the most high-tech armed force in the world, is capable of winning wars. Wars with underage combatants, once unthinkable for professional soldiers and unacceptable in civilized society, can also be won both on and off the battlefield. But it is how U.S. military might is brought to bear against child soldiers that will ultimately translate into a moral, ethical and military victory in the eyes of the troops, the American people, and the international community.

What ‘wins’ at the tactical and physical levels might lose at the operational, strategic, mental and moral levels, where Fourth Generation war is decided.

William Lind

## NOTES

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<sup>3</sup> Krishna Lalbiharie. "When Children Go to War." Canadian Dimension 36, No. 1 (January/February 2002): 25.

<sup>4</sup> "Child Soldiers Around the World." Junior Scholastic 103, No. 10 (November 2003): 11.

<sup>5</sup> Singer, Children at War. New York: Pantheon Books, 2005, 29.

<sup>6</sup> Namrita Talwar. "Fostering Terror: Child Soldier Crisis in Uganda." UN Chronicle 41, No. 2, (June-August 2004): 7,

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<sup>7</sup> Singer, Children at War, 24.

<sup>8</sup> Sanjay Suri. "Rights: Governments Fail to Act on Child Soldiers, Activists Say." Global Information Network (November 2004): 1.

<sup>9</sup> Jason Beaubien. "Profile: Use of Child Soldiers by Rebel Groups in Congo." Report filed for National Public Radio Weekend All Things Considered, June 2003, 1.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Moszynski. "Child Soldiers Forgotten in Angol." British Medical Journal 326, No. 7397 (May 2003): 1003.

<sup>11</sup> Singer, Interview by National Public Radio, "Dr. Peter Warren Singer Discusses How the US Should Deal with Children Soldiers," All Things Considered, April 10, 2002: 1.

<sup>12</sup> Sarah Rose Miller. "Child Soldiers." The Humanist 62, No.4 (July/August 2002): 28.

<sup>13</sup> Singer, Children at War, 25.

<sup>14</sup> Peter Warren Singer, "Fighting Child Soldiers." Military Review 83, No. 3, (May/June 2003): 26.

<sup>15</sup> Singer, Children at War, 22.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Warren Singer, "Tragic Challenge of Child Soldiers." USA Today, March 31, 2005: A.11.

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- <sup>17</sup> Singer, Children at War, 27,  
Suri, 1.
- <sup>18</sup> Singer, Children at War, 32.
- Jim Lobe. "Rights-Burma: 70,000 Child Soldiers in Army Treated Brutally." Global Information Network (October 2002): 1.
- <sup>20</sup> Singer, "Caution: Children at War," 40.
- <sup>21</sup> Suri, 1.
- <sup>22</sup> Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities, Marine Corps Warfighting Laboratory. Seminar Report on Child Soldiers: Implications for U.S. Forces. Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Warfighting Laboratory, 2002.
- <sup>23</sup> Singer, Children at War, 18-19, 31.
- <sup>24</sup> Singer, Children at War, 32.
- <sup>25</sup> Mazurana and McKay, 30. "Child Soldier." Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists 57, No. 5 (September/October 2001): 30.
- <sup>26</sup> Singer, Children at War, 32.
- <sup>27</sup> Daya Somasundaram. "Child Soldiers: Understanding the Context." British Medical Journal 324, No. 7348 (May 2002): 1268.
- <sup>28</sup> Mazurana and McKay, 30.
- <sup>29</sup> Singer, Children at War, 34.
- <sup>30</sup> Mazurana and McKay, 30.
- <sup>31</sup> Somasundaram, 1268.
- <sup>32</sup> Singer, "Caution: Children at War," 40.
- <sup>33</sup> Singer, Children at War, 97-98.
- <sup>34</sup> Singer, "Fighting Child Soldiers," 26.
- <sup>35</sup> Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities, Marine Corps Warfighting Laboratory, 20.
- <sup>36</sup> David Ruffin, conversation with Yvette Waller, circa 1973, Washington, DC.

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<sup>37</sup> Singer, “Caution: Children at War,” 40.

<sup>38</sup> Singer, Children at War, 163.

<sup>39</sup> Julian Barnes. “Conflict with Iraq: ‘We are in a Hell of a Fight’, Army Forces Move into Karbala.”

<sup>40</sup> Holden, Christopher, LTC, U.S. Army, interview by Yvette Barnes, April 13, 2005, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island.

<sup>41</sup> Holden, Interview.

<sup>42</sup> Singer, Children at War, 102.

<sup>43</sup> Singer, Children at War, 106.

<sup>44</sup> Holden, Interview.

<sup>45</sup> Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities, 23.

Other military initiatives include removing the adult leadership of child soldier units; fighting at a distance and firing for its shock effect; the elimination of recruitment zones; psychological operations directed at the child soldiers; public affairs campaign to sensitize the American public; welcoming child prisoners and escapees; assistance in demobilization activities.

<sup>46</sup> Joshua Kucera. “US Speeds Development of Non-Lethal Weapons.” *Jane’s Defence Weekly*, (April 2005).

<sup>47</sup> William Lind. “Understanding Fourth Generation War.” Military Review 84, No. 5 (September/October 2004): 12.

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<sup>48</sup> Kucera.

<sup>49</sup> Singer, Children at War, 98.

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